(*for haſte*) *I had forgotten in the treatye, and therefore thought meete to place it here in the beginning: and therewithall to aduertiſe thee, that theſe outrages and diſordered cruelties done to our nation, proceeded but from the cõmon Souldiers: neither was there any of the twelue which entred the engliſhe houſe, a man of any charge or reputacion. So that I hope (theſe extremyties notwithſtanding) the king, their Maiſter, will take*

ſuch

The Spoyle of Antwerpe.

Faithfully reported, by a true Englishman, who was present at the same.

Nouem. 1576.

Seene and allowed.

Thom. Tanner

Printed at London by Richard Iones.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Faultes escaped, to be considered of the Readers: and to be amended, as followeth.

In .A. the third leafe, the second syde, and last lyne: for, Fuora villiauo: reade, Fuora villiacco.

In .A. 4. leafe. 2. syde, and .7. lyne: for, take Caues: reade, take Armes.

In .A. 6. leafe, the first side, and 20. lyne: for, West or Southwest: reade, East or Southeast.

In .B. the first leafe, and first syde, the 22. lyne: for, west syde: reade, east syde. And in the same leafe, the .2. side, and .7. lyne: for, Southwest syde: reade, Southeast syde. And in the .15. lyne: for, East syde: reade, West syde.

In .B. 4. leafe. 2. syde. 9. lyne. for æste ville: reade, ceste ville. And in the .13. lyne, for Trumpete: reade, Trumpetter. And in the .17. lyne: for Cauaille: reade, Canaille.

In .C. 1. leafe. 2. syde. 1. lyne: for fleing: reade, flaying.

To the Reader.

I Shall earneſtlye *require thee (gentle Reader) to correct the errors paſſed and eſcaped in printing of this Pamphlet, according to this table. And furthermore, to vnderſtande that this victorye was obteyned with loſſe but of fyue hundreth Spanierds, or ſixe at the moſte: of whome I hearde no man of name recoumpted, ſauing onely,* Dom Emanuell. *Thus muche*

(for

(*for haſte*) *I had forgotten in the treatye, and therefore thought meete to place it here in the beginning: and therewithall to aduertiſe thee, that theſe outrages and diſordered cruelties done to our nation, proceeded but from the cõmon Souldiers: neither was there any of the twelue which entred the engliſhe houſe, a man of any charge or reputacion. So that I hope (theſe extremyties notwithſtanding) the king, their Maiſter, will take*

ſuch

ſuch good order for redreſſe thereof, as our countrymen in the end, ſhall reſt ſatiſſyed with reaſon, and the amytye betweene our moſte gracious Soueraigne and him, ſhal remain alſo firme & vnuiolate: the which I pray God ſpeedely to graunt for the benefyt of this Realme. Amen.

¶ Note in the Modell: that the trowpe of *Almaynes* by the ryuers ſide, ſhould be footemen. *And* alſo that the trowpe next the windemyl ſhould be horſemen.

¶THE SPOYLE of Antwerpe.

SInce my hap was to bee present at so pitteous a spectakle, as the sackyng and spoyle of Antwerpe, (a lamentable example whiche hath alredy filled all Europe with dreadfull newes of great calamitie) I haue thought good for the benefit of my countrie, to publish a true report thereof. The which may aswell serue for profitable example vnto all estates of sutche condicion as suffred in the same: as also, answer all honest expectations with a meane truthe, set downe beetween thextreme surmises of sundry doubt full mindes: And encreased by the manyfolde light tales whiche haue been engendred by feareful or affectionate rehersals. And therwithall,

if the wickednesse vsed in the sayde towne, doo seeme vnto the well disposed Reader, a sufficient cause of Gods so iust a scorge and Plague: and yet the furie of the vanquishers doo also seeme more barbarous and cruell, then may become a good christian conquerour: let these my fewe woords become a forewarnynge on bothe handes: and let them stande as a Lanterne of light beetween two perillous Rockes: That bothe amendyng the one, and detestynge the other, wee may gather fyre out of the flint, and Hunny out of the Thystle. To that ende, all stories and Chronicles are written: and to that ende I presume to publishe this Pamphlet: protestyng that neither mallice to the one syde, nor partiall affection to the other, shall make my pen to swarue any iote from truth of that which I will set down & saw executed: For if I were

disposed

diſpoſed to write maliciouſly againſt the vanquiſhers: their former barbarous cruelty, inſolences, Rapes, ſpoyles, Inceſts, and Sacriledges, committed in ſundrie other places, might yeeld mee ſufficiente matter without the lawful remembrance of this their late ſtratageme: or if I would vndertake to mooue a generall compaſſion, by blazynge abroade the miſeries and callamities of the vanquiſhed: theyr longe ſuſteyned iniuries and yokes of vntollerable bondage: theyr continual broyles in warre: their doubtful dreades in peace: theyr accuſations without cauſe: and condemnations without prooke: might enable a doume ſtone to talke of their troubles, and fetche brinyſh teares out of the moſt craggy rocke: to lament and bewayle the burning houſes of ſo neare neighbours. But as I ſayd before, mine onely entent is to ſet downe a plaine truthe, for the ſatiſfiynge of ſutche as

haue hetherto beene caried aboute with doubtfull reportes: and for a profitable example vnto all sutche as beeyng subiect to like imperfections, might fall thereby into the like calamities.

And to make the matter more perspicuous, I must derive the beeginnyng of this discourse a litle beeyonde the beeginnynge of the massacre: That the cause beyng partly opened, the effect may bee the more playnly seene.

It is then to bee vnderstoode that the sackyng & spoyle of ANTWERPE hath been (by all lykelyhoode) longe pretended by the Spanyerds: And that they haue done nothing els but lien in wayte continually to fynde any least quarrell to put ỹ same in execution. For proofe whereof, their notable rebellion and mewtinye beegun in the same, when theyr watche woorde was Fuora viliauo, might sufficiently bee-

beeweay theyr mallicious and cruell intente. And though it were then ſmoothly colloured ouer, and ſubtilly appeaſed, by ỹ craftie deuiſers of the ſame, yet the coles of their choller beynge but raked vp in the Imbers of falſe ſemblance, haue now founde out the wicked windes of wilineſſe & wrath: Whiche meetynge together haue kindled ſutch a flame, as gaue open way to theyr deteſtable deuices. For th'eſtates of al the low countries beeyng ouerweried with the intolerable burden of theyr tyrannies: and hauynge taken armes to withſtande their mallice and rebellyous Mewtinyes, the towne of Antwerpe (beeing left open and ſubiecte vnto the Cytadell) did yet remayne quiet, and entred not into any martiall action.

Whereat the Spanyerdes beeinge mutch mooued, and hauinge not yet opoztunity to woozke their will ſo colourably as they wiſched, beeſtowed

certayne Canon shot out of the saide Castle, and slew certayne innocent soules, with some other small harme and dammage done to the edifices: Thinking thereby to harden ỹ harts of the poore Flemynges, and to make them take Armes for theyr iust defence: whiles they therby might take occasion to execute theyr vniust pretence. And this was doone on the xix. or .xx. of October last.

Now to answere all obiections, I doubt not but it wilbee alledged, that the Castle bestowed the said Canon shot at ỹ Towne, because they of the Towne did not shote at the prince of Orenges Shippes, which lay within syght thereof: But alas it is easy to finde a staffe, when a man woulde beate a dogge.

For the truth is, that those Ships did no greater hurt, either to ỹ towne or Castle, then frendly to waft vp al manner of Grayne and victualles, for

the

the sustenance of ỹ said towne: which euen then began to want sutch prouision, by reason that the sayde Spanyerds had builte a Forte on Flaunders syde vpon the saine Riuer: And thereby stopped all sutch as brought Victuall to the sayd Towne: burnynge and destroyinge the countrie neare adioynyng, and bringe all terrour to the poore people, to the intent ỹ ANTWERPE might lack prouision.

And about the saine time also the Spanierds cut of a Brydge, which was the open passage beetween Antwerpe and Machlen, at a village called Walem. A manifest proofe of their playne intent to distresse ỹ sayd town, and to shut vp the saine from all the rest of Brabant. Since they were walled in with the Riuer on the one syde, and on that other the Spanish horsemen occupied all the countrie, and so terrified ỹ poore people as they durst not bring theyr cõmodities to ỹ saine.

All

All this notwithſtandynge, the chiefe rulers of the ſayde Towne of Antwerpe, appeaſed the people and put vp theſe iniuries vntill they might bee better able to redreſſe them. Soone after the Spanierdes (aſſyſted by the treaſon of certaine high Duches) entred the towne of Maeſtrecht vpon a ſodeyne, and put the ſame to ſacke: killynge, and deſtroying great nunbers of innocēt people therin: a thing to be noted. For that Maeſtrecht had neuer reuolted, but ſtoode quiet vnder their gariſons as faithfull ſubiectes to the kinge. And the one halfe therof perteyned alſo vnto ỹ biſhop of Liege, who had yet medled nothing at all in theſe actions. The cheife rulers and people of Antwerpe perceiuing therby the cruell entent of the Spanyerds, and doubtinge their Dutche garyſon which was of the Counte Euerſteines regiment (as they were alſo which betrayed Maeſtricht,) beegan to aban-

don

don the towne, leauyng their houſes & goods beehinde them: and ſought to withdraw themſelues into ſome place of ſafer abode. Whereat the eſtates beynge mooued with compaſſion, and doubtynge that the towne would ſhortly bee left deſolate, leuied a power of three thouſand footemen, and eight hundreth, or one thouſand horſemen, and ſent the ſame vnder the cõduct of the Marquiſe d' Haurey, the yonge Counte d' Egmont, Mounſer de Capres, Moũſ. de Berſel, Moũſ. de Goõnie, and other nobles & gentlemen to ſuccour & defend the towne of Antwerpe, agaynſt the cruell pretence of the ſayd Spanierdes: And they came beefore the gates therof on Friday the ſecond of this inſtante: at a Porte on the weſt or ſouthweſt ſyde thereof called Kybdœrporte: Wherat the Spanierds beeynge enraged, diſcharged ſundrie ſhotte of greate Artillerie from the Caſtle, but to ſmall purpoſe. At laſt

Mounſ.

Mounſ. de Champaigne, who was gouernour of the Towne: and the Counte d'Euerſteine which was Colonel of the Garyſone, demaunded of the States wherefore they approched the towne in ſutch order: who anſwered ꝑ they came to entre the ſame as freinds, & to entrenche & defend it from ꝑ Spanyerds: proteſting furder, ꝑ they wold offer no manner of violent domage or iniury to the perſons or goods of any ſutch as inhabited the ſame. Hereupon ꝑ ſayd Moūſ. d'Champaigne and Counte d'Euerſteine went out vnto them and conferred more priuately togither by the ſpace of one houre, and returned into the towne leauing the eſtates power at a village called Burgherhout.

On the morrow beeing the third of this inſtant, they were permitted to enter, and came into the towne. xxi. enſignes of footemen, and. vi. cornets of horſemen. Iminediatly after their entrie

entrie, ỹ inhabitantes brought them sackes of wooll and other sutch prouision, wherwith thei aproched ỹ yeard or playne grounde which lieth beefore the Castle. And placing the same at thendes of fiue streets which lye opẽ vnto the sayd Castle yearde, entrenched vnder them with sutch expediciõ that in lesse then fyue howers, those streetes endes, were all reasonably well fortified from the Castle for any sodaine. At this time and. xii. dayes beefore I was in the sayde towne of Antwerpe vpon certeine priuate affaires of myne owne: so that I was enforced to become an eyed witnes of their entry and all that they did. As also afterwards (for all ỹ gates were kept fast shut & I could not departe) to beeholde the pittifull stratageme which solowed. The Castle thondred with shot at the towne: but it was a very myshy day, so that they could neither finde their markes very wel, nor

yet

yet ſee how the ſtreetes endes were entrenched. It was a ſtraunge thing to ſe the willingnes of ỹ inhabitants, and how ſoone many hands had diſpatched a very great peece of worke: for beefore midnight they had made the trenches as highe as the length of a pike: and had begun one trenche for a Counterſkarke between al thoſe ſtreets & the Caſtle yearde: the which they perfected vnto the halfe way frõ S. Georges Churchyearde vnto the waters ſide by S. Michels, & there left from worke, meaning to haue perfected it the next day. That Counterſkarke had been to mutch purpoſe if it had been finiſhed, as ſhall appeare by a Model of the whole place, which I haue annexed to thend of this treaty: by view wherof ỹ ſkilfull reader may playnly perceiue therecution of euery perticularitie. Theſe thinges thus begonne & ſet in forwardnes, it is to bee noted that the Spanyerds (hauing intel-

intelligence of the ſtates power when it ſet forwards from Bruxelles: and perceiuing that it bent towards Antwerpe) had ſent to Maeſtricht, Liere, and Aelſt, to drawe all the power ꝑ could be made vnto the Caſtle of Antwerpe.

So ꝑ on Sunday, the fourth of this inſtant in the morning, they al met at ꝑ ſayd Caſtle. And theyr powers (as farre as I could gather) were theſe.

There came from Maeſtricht very neare to a thouſand horſemen, led by Dom Alonſo de Vergas, who is the generall of the horſemen: & fyue hundreth footemen or more, gouerned by the Campemaſter Franceſco de Valdes.

There came from LIERE. fiue hundreth footemen or more, gouerned by the Campemaſter Iuliane de Romero.

There came from Aelſt two thouſād footemen, which were the ſame that rebelled for their pay & other vnreſonable demaūds immediatly after the winning of Zierickzee. Theſe had none other

other conductour then their Electo (after the maner of ſutch as mewtine & rebel) but were of ſundry companies: as Dom Emanuels & others. Neuertheleſſe I haue ben ſo bould in ỹ Model as to ſet downe ỹ ſayd Dom Emanuell for their leder: bothe becauſe I think that (their mewtiny notwithſtanding) he led them at ỹ exployte, and alſo becauſe, he was ſlayn amongſt them at their entrie. Thus the numbre of ſpanierds was .iiii. M. or there aboutes, beſides ſome help that thei had of thé gariſon within ỹ caſtle: And beſides a M. high Almaynes, or more, whiche caine from Maeſtricht, Lyere, and thoſe partes. And were of three ſundry regiments: viz. Charles Fuckers, Pœlderuills and Frœmsberghs: but they were led all by charles Fucker. So ỹ the whole force of ỹ Spanierds & their cõplices, was fiue. M. and vpwards: the which allẽbled & met at ỹ caſtle, on ỹ ſaid fourth day about .x. of ỹ clocke before dinner.

And

And (as I haue heard credibly reported) would neyther ſtay to refreſh themſelues (hauing marched all night and the day before) nor yet to conferre of any thing, but only of the order how they ſhould iſſue and aſſaile, proteſting and vowing neyther to eat nor drinke vntill they might eate and drinke at liberty and pleaſure in ANTWERP: the which vowe they performed contrary to all mans reaſon and expectation. Their order of entry into ỹ Caſtle yarde, and of their approch to the trenches, I did not ſee, for I could not get out of the town: neyther did I thinke it reaſonable to be Hoſpes in alhena republica curioſus: Yet as I heard it rehearſed by ſundry of them ſelues, I wil alſo here rehearſe it for a truth. The Horſemen and footemen, which came frō Maeſtrecht and Lyere, came through a village on the eaſt ſyde of the town called Burgerhout, about ten of the clock before noone, as before ſayd: The Go-

uernour and estates being thereof aduertised, sente out presently parte of their Horsemen and Footemen to discouer and take knowledge of them: But before they could issue out of the gates, the Spanyardes were passed on the Southwest syde of the towne dyche, and entred at a gate which stãdeth on the Counterscarke of the castle yeard, called the Windmil porte: there entred the Horsemen, and al the footemen, sauing the high Almaynes, who marched round about the Castle, by a village called Keele and trayling their pikes on the ground after them, came in at a small Posterne on the Brayes by the Riuer, and on the east side of the Castle.

Those which came from Aelst, came through the sayd vyllage called Keele, and so through the Castle: issued out of the same at the fore gate, which stãdeth toward the towne. Being thus passed, and entred into the Castleyard

about

about eleuen of the clock, they of Aelſt and of the Caſtle, caſt them ſelues into foure Squadrones: they of Maeſtricht and Lyere, into two Squadrones: and their Horſemen into a trowpe behind them: and the high Almayns into one Squadrone, or Batallyon, by the ryuers ſide. Being thus ordered, and appoyntment giuē where euery Squadrone ſhould charge and indure, they caſt of certayne looſe ſhot, from euery Squadrone, and attacqued the ſcarmouch: the which continewed not one hower, before they drew their Squadrones ſo nere vnto the Counterſcarfe and trenches, that they brake & charged pell mell. The Caſtle had all this while, played at the Towne and trenches, with thundring ſhot: But now vpon a ſignall geuen, ceaſed to ſhoote any more, for feare to hurt their owne men: wherin I noted their good order which wanted no direction, in their greateſt furye. The Wallonnes, and

Almaynes, which serued in the Trenches defẽded al this while very stoutly. And the Spanyerds with their Almaynes, contynewed the charge with such valure, that in fyne they won the Counterscarf, and presently scaled the Trenches, with great fury. The Wallonnes and Almaines hauing long resysted without any fresh relefe or supplye (many of them in this mene while being slayne and hurte) were not able any lõger to repulse the Spanyerds: so that they entred the trenches about twelue of the clock, and presently pursued their victory down euery streate. In their chase, as faste as they gained any crosse streate, they flãked the same with their Muskquets, vntill they saw no longer resistance of any power: and then proceeded in chase, executing all such as they ouertooke. In this good order they charged and entred: in this good order they proceded: and in as good order their lackeyes and Pages

folle wed

followed with Firebrands, and wyld fyre, ſetting the houſes on fyre, in euery place where their mayſters had entred. The Wallonnes and Almaynes, which were to defend the towne being growen into ſome ſecurity, by reaſon that their Trenches were ſo high, as ſeemed inuincible: and lacking ſufficient Generals & Directors, were found as far out of order, as the Spanyerds were to be honored for the good order and direction which they kepte. For thoſe which came to ſupplye & relieue the trẽches, came ſtragling and looſe: ſome came from the furdeſt ſide of the towne: ſome that were nearer came very fearefully: and many out of their lodginges, from drinking and carouſing: who would ſcarſely beleeue that any conflicte was begonne, when the Spanyerdes nowe mette them in the ſtreates to put them out of doubt that they dallyed not. To conclude, their careleſneſſe and lack of foreſyght was

such that they had neuer a Corps du gard to supply and relieue their trēches, but only one in ẏ market place of the towne whiche was a good quarter of a myle from their fortifycations: and that also was of Almaynes, who (when they spied the Spanyerds) did gently kneele downe letting their Pykes fall, and crying Oh lieue Spaniarden, lieue Spaniarden. Now I haue set downe the order of their entrye, approch, charge, and assaulte: together with their proceeding in victory: and that by credible report, both of the Spanyerdes themselues, and of others who serued in their company: let me also say a litle of that which I sawe executed. I was lodged in the Englishe house vt supra, and had not gone abroade that morning by reason of weighty businesse which I had in hand the same day. At dinner tyme the Marchauntemen of my Countrey whiche came out of the towne, and dined in my chamber, told

me

me that a hote ſcarmouch was begon in the Caſtleyeard, and that the furye thereof ſtil increaſed. Aboute the middeſt of dinner, newes came that the ſhot was ſo thick, as neyther ground, houſes, nor people could be diſcearned for the ſmoke thereof: and before dinner were fully ended, that the Spaniardes were like to win the trenches. Whereat I ſtept from the table, and went haſtily vp into a high Tower of the ſayd Engliſh houſe: from whence I might diſcouer fyre in fower or fiue places of the towne, towardes the Caſtleyeard: and thereby I was wel aſſured that the Spanyerds in deede were entred within the Trenches. So that I came down and tooke my cloake and ſword, to ſee the certainty thereof, and as I paſſed toward the Bource, I met many, but I ouertoke none: And thoſe which I mette were no Townſmen, but Souldyeres: neither walked they as men which vſe

traffique, but ran as men whyche are in feare: Wherat being ſomwhat greued, and ſeeing the townſemen ſtand euery man before his doore with ſuch weapons as they had, I demaunded of one of them, what it mente? Who aunſwered me in theſe wordes, Helas monſieur, il ny a poynt de ordre, & voila la ruine de ceſte ville. Aiez courage mon amy (quoth I,) and ſo went onwardes yet towards the Bowrce, meeting all the way more & more which mended their pace. At laſt, a Wallon Trompeter on horſback (who ſeemed to be but a Boy of yeres) drew his ſworde, and layd about him crying, Ou eſt que vous eufuiez canaille? faisons teſte pour le honeur de la patrie. Wherewith, fyfty or three ſcore of them turned head, and wente backewardes towardes the Bource. The which encouraged mee (per companie) to proceede: But alas, this comforte indured but a while: For by that time I came on the farder ſyde of the

Bource,

Bource, I might see a great trowpe comming in greater haste, with their heads as close together, as a skoule of yong frye, or a flocke of Sheepe: Who met me on the farder side of the Bource, toward the market place: And hauing their leaders formost (for I knewe them by their Jauelines, Boxespeares, and Staues) bare me ouer backwardes, and ran ouer my belly and my face, long time before I could recouer on foote. At last when I was vp, I looked on euery syde, and seeing them ronne so fast, began thus to bethinke me. What in Gods name doe I heare which haue no interest in this action? synce they who came to defend this town are content to leaue it at large, and shift for themselues: And whilest I stoode thus musing, another flocke of flyers came so fast that they bare me on my nose, and ran as many ouer my backe, as erst had marched ouer my guttes. In

fyne,

fine, I gotte vp like a tall fellow, and weente with them for company: but their haste was such, as I could neuer ouertake thē, vntil I came at a broad crosse streate which lyeth betweene the English house & the sayd Source: there I ouertooke some of thē groueling on the ground, and groning for the last gaspe, and some other which turned backwards to auoyd the tickling of the spanishe Musquets: who had gotten the ends of the sayd broad crosse streate, and flanked it both wayes: And there I stayde a whyle till hearing the shot increase, and fearing to bee surpryled wyth suche as mighte follow in tayle of vs, I gaue aduenture to passe through the sayde crossestreate, and (without vaunte be it spoken) passed through fiue hundred shotte, before I could recouer the English house.

At my comming thether, I founde many of the Marchauntes standing before

before the gate: Whom I would not diſcomforte nor diſmay, but ſayd that the Spanyerdes had once entred the towne, and that I hoped they were gone backe agayne: Neuertheleſſe I wente to the Gouernour, and priuily perſwaded him to drawe in the company and to ſhut vp the gates: The which he conſented vnto, and deſyred me becauſe I was ſomewhat better acquaynted with ſuch matters then the Marchauntes, to take charge of the key: I tooke it willingly, but before I coulde well ſhut and barre the gates, the Spanyardes were nowe come forewards into the ſame ſtreat: And paſſing by ẏ dooꝛe, called to come in: beſtowing fyue or ſixe Muſquette ſhotte at the grate where I aunſwered them, whereof one came very neare my noſe, and pearcing thoꝛowe the gate, ſtrake one of the Marchants on the head, without any greate or daungerous hurt: but the heate of the

purſute

purſute was yet ſuch, that they coulde not attend the ſpoyle, but paſſed on in chaſe to the new towne: where they ſlew infinite nombers of people: And by three of the clocke, or before returned victors, hauing ſlayne or put to flight all their ennemies. And nowe to keepe promiſe, and to ſpeake wythout parciality: I muſt needs confeſſe, that it was the greateſt victory, and the roſtdlyeſt executed, that hath bene ſeene, red, or heard of, in our age: and that it was a thing myraculous, to cõſider, how Trenches of ſuch a height ſhould be entred, paſſed ouer, and won both by Footemen, and Horſmen: For immediately after that the Footemen were gotten in, the Horſemen founde meanes to follow: and being many of them harquebuziers on horſeback, did paſſe by their owne Footemen in the ſtreates, and much haſtened both the flight of the Wallones, and made the

way

way opener vnto speedy execution.

But whosoeuer will therein most extoll the Spanyardes for their vallure and order, must therewithall confesse that it was the very ordinance of god for a iust plague and scourge vnto the Towne: For otherwise it passeth all mens capacity, to conceiue howe it should be possible. And yet the disorder and lacke of foresight in the Wallons did great helpe to augment the Spanish glory and boast. To conclude, the County de Euersteine was drowned in the newe Towne: the Marquise de Haurey and Champaigne escaped out of the sayd new Towne, and recouered the Prince of Orenges shippes: only the yong Counte de Egmont was taken fighting by S. Wyghels. Mouns. de capres, & Mouns. de Goonie: were also take: but I heard of none that fought stoutly, sauing onely ỹ said Counte de Egmōt, whom the Colonel Verdugo, a spanyard

of

of an honorable compaſſion and good mind, did ſaue with great daunger to himſelf in defending the Counte. In this conflicte there were ſlayne ſixe hundred Spanyerds or thereaboutes: And on the Thurſday next folowing, a view of the dead bodies in the town being take: it was eſteemed at. 17000 men, women, and children. A pittifull maſſacre though God gaue victory to the Spanyerdes. And ſurely, as their vallyaunce was to be much commended, ſo yet I can much diſcommende their barbarous cruelty, in many reſpectes: For me thinkes, that as when God geueth abundaunce of welth, the owner oughte yet to haue regarde on whome he beſtow it: euen ſo, when God geueth a great and myraculous victory, the cõquerours ought to haue great regard vnto their execution: and though ſome, which fauour the Spaniſh faction, will aleadge ſundry reaſons

sons to the contrary : yet when the blood is cold, and the fury ouer , me thinkes that a true christian hearte should stand content with victory, and refrayne to prouoke Gods wrath by sheadding of innocente blood. These things I rehearce (the rather) because they neither spared age, nor sexe: time nor place: person nor countrey: profession nor religion: yong nor olde: rich nor poore: strong nor feeble: but without any mercy, did tyrannously tryumphe when there was neither man nor meane to resist them: For age and sex, yong and old , they slew great nnmbers of yong children , but many moe womẽ more then fowerscore yeares of age: For time and place, their furye was as great ten dayes after the victory, as at the tyme of their entry: and as great respect they had to the church and churchyeard, (for all their hipocritical boasting of the catholique religi-

on)

on) as the Butcher hath to his shambles or slaughter house: For perso and Country, they spared neither friende nor foe: Portingal nor Turke: for profession and religion, the Jesuites must geue their ready coyne: and all other religious houses both coyne and plate with all shorte endes that were good and portable. The ryche was spoyled because he had: & the poore were hanged because they had nothing: neither strength could preuayle to make resystaunce, nor weakenesse moue pitty to refrayne their horrible cruelty. And this was not onely done when the chase was hotte, but (as I earst sayd) when the blood was colde, and they none victors without resystaunce. I refrayne to rehearce the heapes of deade Carcases whiche laye at euery Trench where they entred: the thicknesse whereof, did in many places exceede the height of a man.

I forbeare

I forbeare also to recount the huge nombers, drowned in ỹ new Toune: where a man might behold as many sundry shapes and formes of mans motiõ at time of death: as euer Mighel Angelo dyd portray in his tables of Doomes day. I list not to recken the infinite nombers of poore Almains, who lay burned in their armour: som thentrailes skorched out, & all the rest of the body free, some their head and shoulders burnt of: so that you might looke down into the bulk & brest and there take an Anatomy of the secrets of nature. Some standing vppon their waste, being burnte of by the thighes: & some no more but the very toppe of the brain taken of with fyre, whiles the rest of the body dyd abide vnspeakable tormentes. I set not downe the ougly & filthy polluting of euery streete With the gore and carcases of men and horses: neither doo I complaine, that the one lacked bu-

ryall, and the other fleing, vntyl the ayre (corrupted with theyr caryon) infected all that yet remained alyue in the Towne: And why should I describe the particularitie of euery such anoiance, as commonly happen both in campes & Castels, where martiall feates are managed: But I may not passe ouer with sylence, the wylfull burning and destroying of the stately Townehouse, & all the monuments and records of the Citie: neither can I refraine to tel their shamful rapes & outragious forces presented vnto sundry honest Dames & Virgins. It is a thing too horrible to rehearse, that the Father and Mother were forced to fetche their yong daughter out of a cloyster (who had thether fled as vnto Sanctuary, to keepe her body vndefyled) & to bestowe her in bed betweene two Spaniards, to worke their wicked and detestable wil with her.

It

It is also a ruthfull remembrance, that a poore English marchant (who was but a seruaunt) hauing once redeemed his Masters goods for three hundreth crownes, was yet hanged vntyl he were halfe dead, because he had not two hundreth more to geue them: and ỹ halter being cut downe, and he commen to him selfe againe, besought them on knees with bytter teares, to geue him leaue to seeke & trye his credite and friendes in the Towne, for the rest of theyr vnreasonable demaund. At his returne because he sped not (as indeede no money was then to bee had) they hong him again outright: and afterwards (of exceeding curtesie) procured the Friars Minors to burie him.

To conclude, of the seuentene thousande carcases, which were viewed on the Thursday, I thinke in conscience, that fiue thousand or fewe lesse, were massacred after their victorye.

becauſe they had not readye money, wherewith to raunſome theyr goods at ſuch prices as they pleaſed to ſet on them: At leaſt all the worlde wyll beare mee witnes, that ten (yea twenty dayes) after, whoſoeuer were but poynted at, and named to bee a Wallon, was immediatlye maſſacred without furder audience or tryall. For mine owne part, it is wel knowen that I did oftē eſcape very narrowly, becauſe I was taken for a Wallone. And on Sunday, the eleuenth of this inſtāt (which was the day before I gat out of the Towne) I ſaw three poore ſoules murdered in my preſence, becauſe they were poynted to be Wallons: and it was well proued immediatly that one of thē was a poore artificer, who had dwelt in the Towne eight yeares before, & neuer managed armes, but truely folowed his occupatiō: Furthermore the ſeede of theſe and other barbarous factes

brought forth this crop & fruite: that within three daies Antwarpe, which was one of the rychest Townes in Europe, had now no money nor treasure to be found therein, but onely in the hands of murderers and strompets: for euery Dom Diego must walke ietting vp & downe the streetes with his harlotte by him in her cheine and bracelettes of golde. And the notable Bowrce which was wont to be a safe assemblie for Marchaunts, and men of all honest trades, had nowe none other marchaundize therein, but as many dycing tables as might be placed round about it al the day long.

When wyll boast of the Spanierds that they are the best & most orderlye Souldiours in the world: but sure, if this be their order, I had rather be coumpted a Beloigner, then a braue Souldiour in such a bande: neither must wee thinke (although it hath pleased God for some secreete cause

only knowne to his diuine Maiestie, to yeelde Antwarpe and Maestrecht, thus into their handes) that he wyll spare to punish this theyr outragious crueltie, when his good wyl and pleasure shall be to doo the same: for surely their boasting and bragging of iniquitie, is ouer great to escape long vnskorged.

I haue talked with sundry of them, and demaunded why they would cõmaund that the Townehouse should be burned: And their aunswer was, because it was the place of assembly where all euyll counselles were contriued. As though it were iust that the stockes & stones should suffer for the offence of men. But such is their obstynate pride and arrogancie, that if they might haue their wyll, they woulde altogether raze & destroy the Townes, vntyll no one stone were left vpon another. Neither doeth their stubborne blindnes suffer them

to

to perceiue ꝑ in so doing they should much endomage the king their Master, whome they boast so faithfully to honour, serue and obey.

As for the iniuries done by them vnto our owne nation particularlie, I wyll thus set downe asmuch as I knowe. We were quiet in the house appointed for the mansion of English Marchaunts vnder safe conduct, protectiõ and Placard of their king: hauing neither medled any waye in these actions, nor by any meanes assisted the estats of the countrey with money, munition, or any kinde of ayde. Yea the Gouernor and Marchauntes (foreseeing the daunger of the tyme) had often demaunded passporte of the kinges gouernours and officers to depart.

And all these with sundrie other allegations, wee propounded and protested vnto them before they entred the English house: desiring to be there

there protected according to our priuiledges and graunts from the King their Maister. And that they would suffer vs there to remaine free from all outrage, spoile or raunsome, vntill wee might make our estate knowne vnto the Castellane, and other head officers which serued there for ỹ sayd King. All which notwithstanding, they threatned to fyre the house, vnlesse we would open the doores: and being once suffred to enter, demaunded presently the raunsom of twelue thousande crownes of the Gouernor: Which summe, being not in deede in the house, neyther yet one third part of the same: they spared not with naked swordes and daggers to menace the sayde Gouernour, and violently to present him death, because he had not wherwith to content theyr greedie mindes. I wyll not boast of any helpe afforded by me in that distresse: but I thanke the Lorde God, who made

made mee an instrument to appease their deuillish furies. And I thinke that the Gouernour and all the company wyll confesse that I vsed mine vttermost skyll and ayde for the safegarde of theyr lyues, aswell as mine owne.

But in the ende, all eloquence notwithstanding, the Gouernour being a comlie aged Man, and a personne, whose hoarie heaires might moue pittie, and procure reuerence in any good minde, (especiallye the vprightnesse of his dealing considered) they enforced him with great danger to bring forth all the money, plate, and Iewelles, which was in the house: & to prepare the remnant of twelue thousand crownes, at such dayes, and tymes as they pleased to appoynt. And of the rest of our Nation, which had their goodes remaining in their seuerall packehouses, & lodgings elsewhere in the Towne.

they

they tooke such pitty, that fowre they slewe, and diuerse other they most cruelly & daungerously hurt: spoyling and raunsoming them to the vttermost vallewe that might be made or esteemed of all their goodes. yea, some one they enforced to raunsome his goodes twise, yea thrise: and all that notwithstanding, tooke the sayd goodes violentlye from them at the last.

And al these iniuries being opened vnto their chiefe Gouernors in time conuenient, & whyles yet the whole summe set for seuerall raunsomes of our countreymen and the Englishe house in generall, were not halfe paide: so that iustice and good order might partly haue quallified the former rygors proffered by the Souldiours, the sayde gouernours were as slowe and deafe, as the other were quicke and light of hearing to finde the bottome of euerie bagge in the

Towne.

Towne. So yt it seemeth they were fullye agreed in all thinges: or if any contention were, the same was but stryke who or which of them might do greatest wrongs. Keeping the sayd Gouernor & Marchaunts there styl (without graunt of passeport or safe-conducte) when there is scarcely any victualles to bee had for any money in the Towne, nor yet the sayd marchaunts haue any money to buye it, where it is. And as for creditte, neither creditte nor pawne can nowe finde coyne in Antwarpe. In these distresses I lefte them the twelfth of this instant Nouember 1576. when I parted from them, not as one who was hastie to leaue and abandone them in such miserye, but to solycite their ruefull causes here: and to delyuer the same vnto her Maiestie and councell in such sort as I beheld it there.

And this is in effecte the whole trueth

trueth of the sacking and spoyle of so famous a Towne. Wherein is to be noated, that the Spanyerdes and their faction, being but fyue thousande, the trenches made againste them of suche height as seemed inuincible: the power within ỹ Towne fifeteene or sixteene thousand able fighting men well armed, (I meane the Townesmen ready armed being coumpted:) it was charged, entred, & wonne in three howres. And before sixe howers passed ouer, euery house therein sacked or raunsomed at the vttermost vallew.

The which victory being miraculous and past mans capacitie, to cõprehend how it should be possible, I must needs attribute vnto Gods iust wrath powred vpon the inhabitants for their iniquitie, more then to the manhoode and force of the Spanyerdes: and yet I meane not to robbe them of their deserued glorie, but to confesse

confeſſe that both their order & valure in charging and entring was famous: And had they kept halfe ſo good order, or ſhewed the tenth part of ſuch manly corage, in vſing theyr victory, and parting of their ſpoyle: I muſt then needes haue ſayde that Cæſar him ſelfe had neuer any ſuche ſouldiours. And this muſt I needs ſay for them, that as theyr continual training in ſeruice doth make them expert in all warrelyke ſtratageme: ſo their daily trade in ſpoiling hath made them the cunningeſt ranſackers of houſes, and the beſt able to bring a ſpoyle vnto a quicke market, of any Souldiors, or Maſtertheeues that euer I heard of.

But I leaue the ſkanning of theyr deedes vnto God, who wyll bryddle theyr inſolencie, when hee thinketh good and conuenient: And let vs alſo learne out of this rewfull tragedie to deteſt & anoyde thoſe ſynnes, and

prowde enormyties, which cauſed the wrath of God to be ſo furiouſlye kindled and bent againſt the Towne of Antwerpe: let vs alſo if euer wee ſhoulde be driuen to lyke occaſion,) (which God forbidde) learne to looke better about vs for good order & dyrection, the lacke whereof was theyr ouerthrow. For ſurely the inhabytantes lacked but good guides and leaders: for hauing none other order appointed, but to ſtande euerye man armed in readynes before his dooze, they dyed there (many of them) fighting manfully, when the Walloners and high Duches fled beaſtly. Let vs alſo learne to deteſt the horrible cruelties of the Spanyerdes in all executions of warlike ſtratagemes, leaſt the diſhonour of ſuch beaſtly deedes, might bedymme the honour wherewith Engliſhe Souldiours haue alwayes bene endowed in theyr victories. And fynally let vs praye to God

for

for grace to amend our lyues, and for power and foresyght to withstande the malyce of our enemyes: that remayning and continewing in the peaceable protection of our most gracious Soueraigne, we maye geue him the glory, and all due and loyall obedience vnto her Maiestie, whome God nowe and euer prospere and preserue.

Amen.

Written the .xvb. daye of Nouember. 1576. by a true English man, who was present at this pytteous massacre. *Vt supra.*

prowde enormyties, which caused the wrath of God to be so furiously kindled and bent against the Towne of Antwerpe: let vs also if euer wee should be driuen to lyke occasion,) (which God forbidde) learne to looke better about vs for good order & direction, the lacke whereof was theyr ouerthrow. For surely the inhabytantes lacked but good guides and leaders: for hauing none other order appointed, but to stande euerye man armed in readynes before his dooze, they dyed there (many of them) fighting manfully, when the Walloners and high Duches fled beastly. Let vs also learne to detest the horrible cruelties of the Spanyerdes in all executions of warlike stratagemes, least the dishonour of such beastly deedes, might bedymme the honour wherewith Englishe Souldiours haue alwayes bene endowed in theyr victories. And fynally let vs praye to God

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LVCRECIA
THOM
BERTHELETVS